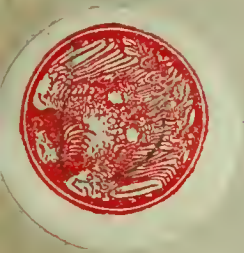


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EX-PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

UNVEILING OF THE MONUMENT

ERECTED TO HIS MEMORY AT

GREENEVILLE, TENN., JUNE 5th, 1878.





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Book J 798



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ORATION

OF

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HON. GEORGE W. JONES,

173
WITH OTHER PROCEEDINGS,

AT

The Unveiling of the Monument

TO THE MEMORY OF

EX-PRESIDENT ANDREW JOHNSON,

AT

GREENEVILLE, TENNESSEE,

JUNE 5TH, 1878.

NASHVILLE:

PRINTED BY "THE AMERICAN."

1878.

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1874

UNVEILING OF THE MONUMENT.

The ceremonies connected with the unveiling of the monument erected over the remains of Ex-President Andrew Johnson, occurred at Greeneville, Tenn., June 5, 1878. At an early hour of that day people began flocking into the village from the surrounding country. Special trains from the east and west poured into town a throng of people from along the line of railroad from Bristol to Knoxville. There were three thousand people present, including distinguished citizens from every division of the State. At 11 o'clock the procession was formed in front of the Court-house and moved to Monument Hill in the following order :

Drum Corps.

Cœur de Leon Commandery, of Knoxville.

Odd Fellows Band.

Carriages, conveying the speakers and the family of Ex-President Johnson.

Invited guests in carriages.

Citizens.

After the arrival at the monument, the family and invited guests, including the Knights Templar, took seats on the stand erected for the purpose, when Mr. C. Van Gunden, of the firm of Van Gunden, Young & Drumm, of Philadelphia, Pa., builders of the monument, spoke as follows: "Mr. President: On the 31st of March, 1877, Mrs. Martha J. Patterson, Mrs. Mary J. Stover and Andrew Johnson, Jr., children of the late President Johnson, contracted with us for the construction of this work. We have felt ourselves highly honored in being chosen by them, for we had not only the artists' and mechanics' pleasure, but, as American citizens, have felt grateful in being permitted, though in an humble way, to perpetuate the memory of Tennessee's greatest statesman. We have, with conscious integrity, devoted our best skill to the

execution of the task confided to us, and now, with thanks to the devoted family of our beloved ex-President for their unremitting courtesy and kindness during the progress of the work to its completion. I place in your keeping the result of our united labors, and may the memory of their filial love and patriotic devotion, expressed in the structure before us, and the deeds of the noble dead whose ashes sleep beneath this monument, be gratefully remembered for ages to come."

The great flag enfolding the monument then, as if by magic, fell gracefully down, and disclosed the tribute of childrens' affection to noble and loving parents. It had been beautifully decorated by the ladies of Greeneville, with a garland of laurel, wrapped spirally around it, and a wreath of laurel in the eagle's beak, while numerous bouquets of surpassing beauty adorned the niches in the die and base. Under the arch, the graves were strewn with choicest flowers and foliage.

Standing on the crest of a prominent conical hill, half a mile southwest of Greeneville, the monument commands a noble landscape, stretching away for miles to the distant mountains that line the horizon. The marble shaft rises in the center of the Johnson burying ground, a circular grassy plot, thirty feet in diameter. Side by side lie the graves of the dead statesman and his wife. A few steps south are buried their sons, Charles and Robert, the former of whom, a surgeon in the Federal army, met a tragic death during the war, by being thrown from his horse while in Nashville.

The monument is twenty-seven feet high, with a measurement of nine by seven feet at the base—which is of gray granite, and composed of three pieces—the low, broad arch and the two supports which rest upon a limestone foundation set five feet in the solid slate of Monument Hill. This arch spans the graves of Mr. and Mrs. Johnson some three feet above the ground surface.

On the arch rests the die, about three feet high and four feet square, flanked on either side by a half pyramidical wing, on the top of each of which stands an urn holding a funeral torch. Next above the die is the pedestal, also about three feet high and two feet square, the bottom and top both ornamented round about with a molding, bead fillet and concave. Above the pedestal stands the shaft of white Italian marble about fifteen feet in height, square, with beveled corners, plain at the bottom, the upper half draped with the stars and stripes, and surmounted with a globe on which is perched an outspread eagle, also of white Italian marble, poised as if in defence from an expected attack from below.

The pedestal is ornamented with a scroll Constitution immediately above an open Bible, on the left hand page of which rests an open hand pointing towards the Constitution and also representative of the

act of taking the oath of office under it. The die bears the following inscription :

ANDREW JOHNSON,
Seventeenth President of the
United States.

Born Dec. 29, 1808.
Died July 31, 1875.

His faith in the People
never wavered.

ELIZA JOHNSON,

Born Oct. 4, 1810.
Died Jan. 15, 1876.

In memory of Father and
Mother.

The east face of the monument alone bear inscriptions—the others are plain. A neat substantial iron palisade encloses the monument and family burial ground, and the whole is distinctly visible from the railway, approaching Greeneville from the West. The cost of the monument was nearly \$9,000.

After the formal delivery of the monument by the representative of the builders, Hon. Jno. C. Burch, of the Nashville *American*, introduced Hon. George W. Jones, of Fayetteville, the orator of the occasion. At the conclusion of the oration the procession formed and returned, halting at the residence, where the invited guests, including the speakers and Knights Templar, were received and entertained by the ladies of the family.

The following is the introductory address of Hon. John C. Burch:

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

This immense assemblage, the eager anxiety of all to witness the ceremonies of the day and to hear every word that is uttered bespeak the deep interest which is felt in this occasion. Near three years ago the most eminent citizen of your county, of the State and of the Union was suddenly summoned from exalted station and the busy scenes of public life to the quiet slumbers of the grave. Many of us who are here to-day were here when his mortal remains, wrapped in the flag of his country, were committed to their mother earth. In yon quiet village he selected his home before he had arrived at years of maturity. Here, in later years, after his countrymen had crowned him with many honors, he selected this spot for the burial of himself and the dear, devoted one whom in early life he had chosen as an help-meet for him, and who, through all the unusually trying years of a most eventful life, fully and faithfully discharged the duties to which she had been allotted.

Many of you knew him in his every-day walk as a private citizen; all of us knew him, or knew of him, as one of the foremost figures on the great historic canvas of American life. No man of his earnestness of convictions could live so long and so eminently in public life and during such a stormy period of the country's history without antagonizing the political views and aspirations of many of his fellow-citizens. It is not asked that any of us shall admit that his were always the correct positions. But none ever knew him who did not acknowledge and admire his simplicity of character, his integrity of purpose, his personal courage, his indomitable will, his unyielding devotion to what he believed the right.

The career of Andrew Johnson was the most remarkable of the present century, if not of all the past. It will prove a source of inspiration and encouragement to the humble youth of this age and of all future civilization. We are here to pay respect to this wonderful career and to assist in emphasizing it for the consideration of the present generation as well as for posterity. The highest civic honors have been already paid to the deceased statesman. Since his entombment, filial affection has erected over his remains a monument, to mark their resting place by the side of his beloved wife. Friends have thought that the unveiling of this monument should be made the occasion of an oration, somewhat commemorative of his private life and public services. The surviving children of Mr. Johnson have selected for the preparation and delivery of this address one who was for forty years his warm personal friend, and who, for the most of that time, was intimately associated with him in public life. The duty which I have been asked to perform is to introduce to you this bosom friend, this intimate associate of the deceased, one of Tennessee's most eminent living citizens. Ladies and gentlemen, I have the honor of presenting to you the orator of the day, the Hon. Geo. W. Jones, of Lincoln.

ORATION.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

The ceremony performed in our presence to-day discovers to the eyes of this assemblage the monument, erected by his children, to mark the resting place of the remains of ANDREW JOHNSON. The occasion has been deemed appropriate for an oration commemorative of the life and character of that remarkable man, and at the solicitation of those children and numerous friends, while sincerely distrustful of my ability, I have accepted the duty. The reason for my selection lies chiefly in the fact, that for a period of forty years it was my fortune to have been intimately associated with him, and that our services in public station, during the period in which I acted, was fundamentally accordant in political views. The antecedents of both were somewhat similar also, and conduced to render us congenial, and to establish relations—both public and private—of a sympathetic friendship, which were not severed at any period of his eventful career. The opportunities of this relationship have been held to qualify me to speak of him as he was, to analyze his characteristics, to interpret his motives, and to portray the events of his laborious and tumultuous life in the light which may serve as a guide to the estimate in which posterity may hold him. This task I do not regard myself equal to, and were it otherwise, neither time nor the proprieties of the occasion would permit a discourse requiring a review of one of the most important periods in the political history of our Government. This, indeed, will be the duty of the elaborate historian, who shall write of the man and his times after the roar of the combat shall be forgotten, and the passion it aroused shall have given place to reason. In the shaping of great events, he wrought with rare vigor and power, and his life will project a commanding figure on the canvas of history. To that repository his fame may be safely committed. The time, to-day, may be profitably employed in recounting the narrative of his wonderful course from orphanage and obscurity to exalted station and world-wide renown, and in reflecting on the mental and moral attributes which

enabled him to overcome these obstacles, and achieve results so grand. In this aspect his life is a lesson of absorbing interest and instruction ; and though it is not possible to speak of it without reference to eras of fierce political conflict, I shall endeavor to do so justly and candidly, remembering for him that he is dead, and for the living that the truth in regard to great characters who may become exemplars, is all that is valuable.

Nearly three years have elapsed since Mr. JOHNSON, but recently elected to a seat in the highest council-chamber of the Government, and apparently in robust health for one who had nearly reached the limit of three-score and ten years, was suddenly stricken, and his spirit summoned from the scenes of earth. The unexpected announcement thrilled the people of the United States with a sense of sadness. Those who had admired and supported him, as well as those who had not, felt that a great man had fallen—in the figure of Scripture, “that a standard-bearer on the walls had fainted”—and that a public bereavement was suffered. The bells in cities were tolled. The public buildings exhibited the insignia of mourning. The flag of the nation hung at half-mast. The day of his burial was respected in a suspension of the official business of the public. Numerous meetings of the people assembled to express the universal sense of loss. At a later date, funeral pageants were formed in honor of his memory, notably one at the Capital of this State, whose public servant he had been so long. Still later, on the meeting of Congress, a day was designated on which the Representatives of the people should, in resolutions and spoken eulogies, voice the sentiment of the nation regarding his death ; and in these, political friends and foes united in the language of homage. Here, at his home, his removal was as if one of yonder mountains had “bowed its tall head to the plain.” First receiving a mark of the public confidence from this people nearly half a century before, his luminous ascent to supreme station had reflected honor upon them, and his fame was cherished here as a household god by every one. No tribute of tongue or pen, or ostentatious parade, paid to his memory, was so true or just as the homely outpouring of the people, and the children of the people, who had been his early and steadfast friends, on the day his body was interred at this spot. The obsequies were not elaborate in equipage and vain display of ceremony. They were such only as he would have desired—a concourse of the people irrespective of social rank, subdued in grief, and quietly performing the last service we can offer our fellow-men. They were as becoming as they were spontaneous and unaffected—the simple and sincere offering of those who knew him best and esteemed him most.

And thus, after a life of extraordinary energy in a great field of action, illustrating both extremes of fortune, amid the mingled admiration and regret of a continent, his mortal part was laid in the earth, and men turned away, thenceforward to contemplate him in the steadily receding view of history. To trace this life since he first appeared in the then village yonder, more than fifty years ago, is a story of the marvels possible to indomitable will and inflexible honesty, allied to inborn talents. But who that saw him then, and there may be those living who hear me, would have ventured to predict that the uncouth youth, poor and unlettered, unknown and unfriended save by the widowed mother, who was his companion and his dutiful burden, was to become the recipient of all these honors, in life and in death, I have so feebly depicted? How it came to pass, let the sequel show.

ANDREW JOHNSON was born in Raleigh, North Carolina, December 29, 1808. He was the son of Jacob Johnson, an humble man, who filled at various times several petty offices in that town. He was quite poor, and unable to give his children even the rudiments of an education. He died when his subsequently illustrious son was in the fourth year of his age. In the history of men who have become eminent, early loss of the father is quite a frequent circumstance. It was the case with Jackson and Clay, for example. One might speculate, if in characters having the germs of greatness, this apparently adverse stroke of fate did not tend to develop the faculty of self-reliance, an element afterwards so prominent. At ten years of age, ANDREW was apprenticed to a tailor in Raleigh, and a few months before the expiration of his term of indenture, he left his employment and his native place, on account of a boyish misdemeanor in which he was implicated. In a year or more he returned, having spent the time at work in his trade at Laurens Court-house, South Carolina. Learning that his former master had removed some distance from Raleigh, he sought him, made apology for his misconduct, and tendered payment for the unperformed period of service for which he owed. This honorable offer was not received properly, and the proud spirit of the youth revolted, and he resolved to seek a new home. His gaze turned westward, and for him, indeed, "the star of empire" was brilliant with destiny. Having traveled in the humblest manner, with his dependent mother, in the fall of 1826—then eighteen years of age—he arrived in Greeneville, Tennessee. Here he opened that shop which has become historic, and sat diligently at his trade, approving himself a good workman, and acquiring the confidence of those who employed him. Not long after, he married her who rests by his side beneath that shaft, justly sharing the honors paid to him. Their temperaments were un-

like—he, fervid and aggressive; she, calm and retiring—but their union was fortunate, and, by her aid, he was better prepared for the long encounter which fate held in reserve. He had never gone to school. Incited by listening to readings from a copy of “The American Speaker”—a work of oratorical exercises—while an apprentice on the board, he mastered the alphabet, and learned to read. Until his marriage, his education consisted only in such imperfect reading as the intervals from toil allowed him. His wife taught him writing and arithmetic—acquisitions which served to enlarge the sphere of his capacity, and stimulate the sacred thirst for knowledge. Under her instructions his self-education was pursued concurrently with his daily labor, and far into the night, when other mechanics were accustomed to rest. Such was the resolute spirit of the man, as even at this time his nascent ambition was prefiguring the career on which he had set his heart.

His thrift in his vocation, and his studious habits and active intelligence, were not long in attracting attention, and in 1828 he was elected an alderman of this town, and re-elected in the year following. In 1830 he was made mayor, a considerable dignity for a young man of twenty-two years of age. This office he filled for several years with efficiency. He was appointed a trustee of Rhea Academy in 1834. This was the year in which the second Constitution for the State was submitted to the people. He advocated its adoption, as its features, in the main, were more democratic than the instrument of 1796, which it was designed to supersede. Thus, in the incipency of his public life, is observed a devotion to that principle which became its shibboleth—the bringing of the government nearer to the people. In the year following, the first General Assembly, under the new Constitution, was elected, and he presented himself as a candidate for Representative. The division of the people into parties, afterwards so long known as Whig and Democratic, was just then occurring, and the instincts and modes of thought of Mr. JOHNSON at once aligned him with the latter, at whose head was Andrew Jackson. His candidacy, however, was not wholly acceptable to some who assumed to be local leaders of the party, but nothing caring, he engaged in debate with his popular competitor, and sustained himself so well as to silence all objections in his own ranks. He was elected, and it was in the House of Representatives in that Assembly that your speaker, as a fellow-member, formed his acquaintance. In that body, though but few, if any, discerned the elements of character he afterwards developed, he made more than the ordinary impression of a new member. He was punctual, laborious, but not unduly forward. He

kept a vigilant eye on the legislation proposed in moulding the order of things under the new Constitution, and judiciously participating in debate. His style was less assured and vehement than afterwards; but nevertheless ready and pointed. Though plainly clad, and not so robust in figure as in later life, his marked and expressive features presented him well, and engaged attention when he arose to speak. An important measure of that session was an act for internal improvements—the building of a system of macadamized turnpikes at the expense of the State treasury. Mr. JOHNSON's course in regard to this was strongly illustrative of candor and boldness, as well as of tenacious adherence to constitutional limits in legislation, which he ever so consistently and signally displayed. His own mountain-bound section of the State, under the operation of the law, would derive benefits greatly desired—ready means of inter-communication, as well as accessibility to other sections, then quite difficult. It was, therefore, popular in that region, and a number of its leading advocates were from East Tennessee. Mr. JOHNSON gravely doubted the power of the General Assembly to impose a tax upon the people for an extraordinary purpose without the previous consent expressed at the polls, and seriously questioned the abstract right and propriety of incurring an indebtedness of the State, bearing interest, for any object, however desirable or laudable. From a fund thus acquired, he was jealous to apprehend misapplication of its use. With these views he strenuously opposed the enactment of the measure, notwithstanding the expected advantage to accrue to the people whom he represented. In this early step, there was nothing of the odor of demagoguery, which since has been erroneously charged against him. Indeed to this manly independence of the popular desire was, in great part, to be attributed his defeat for re-election in 1837. Two years later, however, he appealed a third time to the people. Some of the consequences of the favorite measure which he had foretold, had been observed, and he was triumphantly returned. His bearing and legislative service at this session gave evidence of enlarged information on questions meriting public attention, and of ripening powers. A single defeat had not discouraged him, nor in the least relaxed his ardor. In 1840, he was nominated a candidate, for the State at large, for Presidential Elector, on the Democratic ticket, and appeared in debate with various gentlemen of distinction on the opposing ticket. His experience in speaking before the people, and in the halls of legislation, had begotten confidence in his capacity. He was thoroughly informed upon the current questions and principles at issue, and in these forensic struggles he bore himself the equal of any whom he met. Those who witnessed them, perceived that he was in a sphere

in which he was qualified to become eminent. He was elected a member of the State Senate in the year following. The period was one of intense political antagonism. The Whig party, successful in the Federal elections, had suffered a disaster in the early death of President Harrison, and the alleged defection of his successor to its principles in an important object to its great leaders—the establishment of a Bank of the United States. Mr. JOHNSON was then, as ever afterwards, a determined opponent of powerful fiscal corporations, holding them to be inimical to the rights and interests of the mass of the people, and promotive of public corruption. He felt it to be a public duty to oppose, by every legitimate means, the ascendancy in Congress of the party advocating this measure. In great part, this question entered as an element in the election of United States Senators, which then devolved upon the General Assembly, and Mr. JOHNSON was one of the democratic majority of the State Senate—known in the political parlance of the time as “the immortal thirteen”—whose refusal to act thwarted an election. This produced an angry contest, and the arguments in attack and defense were of a mixed legal and partizan character. At this session, Mr. JOHNSON was the author of a bill providing for a scheme of internal improvements, which he held to be safely practicable, and not obnoxious to the objections which he had urged to the measure of a previous legislature.

He had now achieved a reputation co-extensive with the State. In his six years of service in the General Assembly, he had exhibited indefatigable industry, astuteness and skill in debate, a candid record upon all issues, and unbending courage. He aspired to a wider field of action, and announced himself a candidate for the Federal House of Representatives, and after an arduous canvass, was elected, and entered that body in the thirty-fifth year of his age. It was the fortune of your speaker to enter it simultaneously, and to serve with him during the ten years of his membership. In that forum, then containing a number of distinguished men of long experience in the National Councils, and receiving at that time a number also of those who afterwards acquired high renown, the ambitious member from the First Tennessee District, doubtless, felt painfully the grip of those “twin jailors of the daring heart”—“low birth and iron fortune”—which had condemned him to educational deficiency. But nothing daunted, he assiduously addressed himself to attaining whatever could better qualify him for the position. He had neither taste nor natural aptitude for enjoying what many esteem as the recreative honors of membership in Congress. He regarded it as a theater of high and important duty—an arena of public usefulness, in which the gratification of a just am-

bition was a legitimate reward. In the sessions of that body, he was diligently attentive to the business transpiring; in the intervals, he was discharging duty on committees, or intently seeking information from the library and every source at his command. He knew no idle hours, but was incessantly equipping for the discharge of the functions which the people had committed to his trust, and the making for himself an honorable fame. He was somewhat sensitive on one point, and quickly resented a derogatory allusion. In his first session, in the course of a discussion on the tariff, a colleague from this State made reference to his mechanical occupation. Mr. JOHNSON instantly interrupted him, and demanded to know if he spoke contemptuously. The intention was promptly disavowed. It is a mistake to suppose that he was accustomed to artfully introduce this feature of his life to propitiate popular favor. Neither was he ashamed of it, but quietly proud rather, and prouder still of the free institutions which fostered the effort to rise from humble station. During the long period of his service in the Lower House of Congress, he was a frequent partaker in the debates on all of the leading questions before the body. The two great parties alternated in predominance, and the lines of division were distinctly drawn. As a rule, he acted with his political associates, but there was a vein of independence in his course which, on occasions, resisted the trammel of party dictation; and, when moving in concert, his reasons were always his own. This ingredient of character early attracted the notice of the eminent and sagacious John Quincy Adams, so long an ornament of the House, who spoke of him as an acute and original thinker, and foresaw the distinction of which he was capable. Out of this element in his composition grew a number of frank utterances which produced criticisms among his political friends at home, and cost him several severe contests for the retention of his seat—those of 1847 and 1851 will be remembered. Before the people, however, the formidable disaffection in party ranks notwithstanding, he was invincible. His first effort in Congress was a speech in favor of the bill refunding the fine imposed on General Jackson by Judge Hall in 1815. He spoke also on the measure for the annexation of Texas; and during its course, in a number of speeches, defended the justness of the war with Mexico. His speeches on tariff revision, which resulted in the law of 1846, exhibited thorough research and knowledge of that intricate subject. The erection of special industries into monopolies by a protective tariff system, he held to be partial and unjust, and grossly injurious to the interests of the most numerous classes of the people, and moreover, in contravention of the cardinal principles of free government. In regard to the Oregon boundary line, and the

threatened difficulty with the British Government, he sustained the policy of President Polk. He was a strenuous advocate of retrenchment in the expenses of the Government, which he perceived to be unnecessarily and inordinately large in many features, chiefly so in extraordinary and useless offices and large salaries. He favored simple and economical administration, in the interest of the toiling tax-payers, and as a potent instrumentality in repressing the inevitable tendency to corruption. A speech on this subject, of great earnestness, was construed as an attack on the then Democratic administration, and gave umbrage in some quarters. But it was not his way to withhold the expression of his views under dread of any disapprobation. In a debate arising upon an important question then prominent, he delivered an incisive speech in advocacy of the Executive veto power, in which he traced a contrast between its wholesome use as a feature of Republican government, and the kingly negative under a Monarchical system. He defended it as a conservative clause of the Constitution, designed to restrain hasty, improvident and sectional legislation, proper to be wielded by the Chief Magistrate as the representative of the whole people. Perhaps the most glowing dream of his ambition did not forecast the era twenty years later, when he should boldly exercise it in circumstances perilous with the crisis of his public career. About this period he initiated his long and persistent struggle to secure the enactment of a law granting a homestead of one hundred and sixty acres of the public lands to any citizen who should occupy and cultivate a part of it for a specified number of years. This measure encountered both discouragement and opposition from various sources. The great and overshadowing question of slavery and its complication with territorial settlement, was an obstructing prejudice to its intrinsic merits. Upon this rich and vast domain which it was proposed to reserve for this purpose, the eager eyes of incorporated greed, vulture-like, were already gloating. The homestead law, designed as a bounty to enterprise and frugal industry, and the encouragement of thrifty citizenship—the richest treasure a nation may have; but a powerful influence strove to retain it for ripening schemes of selfish speculation adroitly masked. But ANDREW JOHNSON conspicuously championed the measure, and at a time and under circumstances when considerations of sectional popularity would have deterred a less intrepid and independent man. He may be said to have been its projector, and his name is indissolubly identified with this legislation, so beneficent to thousands, and so sagacious and statesman-like. It is one of that class of laws which crown their authors with the blessings of generations of people. The many homes on the teeming acres of the great West

stand as a monument to the wisdom and courage of Mr. JOHNSON. In the agitation ensuing upon the territorial acquisitions from Mexico with reference to slavery, as a Southern man, Mr. JOHNSON steadily upheld the rights and interests of his section as guaranteed under the Constitution. In the exciting debates to which this portentous question led, he did not assume extreme ground touching the institution of slavery, nor advocate its extension as a means of maintaining the balance of political power between the free and slave States. He did, however, defend its constitutional sanctions where it then existed, and in the common territory of the United States, as a species of property as inviolable as any other. As to the policy and perpetuity of this peculiar institution, he held that the former was settled in the fact that it existed, and was thoroughly incorporated in the body of society, and that the latter was a question out of the province of the powers of the General Government, and determinable only by a variety of economical considerations, as time might develop. An aggressive war upon it as a moral and social wrong, which was to be hedged by inhibiting its spread, he despised as fanatical, and violative of the spirit in which the Federal Union was formed, and deprecated it as threatening to incite a sentiment imperilling alike the Union and the Constitution, the safeguard of all institutions. As a scheme of adjustment of the then aspect of the question, he did not approve some of the features of the Compromise of 1850, but finally voted for the five measures which it comprehended. One intimately conversant with Mr. JOHNSON's views during the long and troublous era caused by these issues, could but know that he was loyal to the legal rights of the Slave States in this respect, and to every degree; and was prepared to maintain them under the Constitution and within the Union, and could not but know, also that he would not surrender the integrity of the Federal Government to preserve slavery, or any other single interest whatever. The destruction of that he regarded as tantamount to the sacrifice of all that could be held dear to the American people, and as the culmination of irretrievable political disaster, and would put nothing in the scale against its preservation.

On March 4, 1853, his first period of service in Congress terminated, and he retired from the public employment, but for a short time, a few months only. In the spring of that year, he was nominated as the Democratic candidate for Governor of Tennessee, and thereabout the truth of history requires a statement. While recognizing their necessity, Mr. JOHNSON was never an adept in party conventions, and he was not present when this honor was tendered him. In Congressional re-districting, under the census of 1850, the First, so long repre-

sented by him, had been made doubtful or adverse to the success of a democratic candidate. Fortuitously, in the fall preceding, your speaker met a prominent member of the party, who urged that the coming Gubernatorial candidate should be from East Tennessee, and named Mr. JOHNSON, and he consented; and he, while in Washington City, by letter, requested a distinguished leader in the party in Nashville, who would be present at the convention as a delegate or otherwise, to withdraw his name from before the convention in the event he should think it necessary to do so, in order to harmonize the convention. There it rested, so far as his, Mr. JOHNSON's, personal interference was concerned. On the assembling of the convention, at a preliminary consultation of delegates, the name of the gentleman to whom had been confided Mr. JOHNSON's interest, was himself recommended to the convention for nomination as the democratic candidate. He felt the embarrassment, and frankly stating it to the convention, requested that his name should not be presented to the convention, and thereupon Mr. JOHNSON was nominated by the Convention. In the conferment of this honor, no imputation of overreaching can, in the least, impeach his manliness. His competitor was Gustavus A. Henry, a gentleman of high character, and famed for commanding eloquence and ability, and the field of contest was the entire State. Mr. JOHNSON reversed the political majority of the previous election, and was inaugurated Governor in October. His address on this occasion contained several passages which provoked sarcastic criticism. His administration of State affairs was upright and acceptable, and marked in some features by his characteristic vigor and independence of precedent. He was unanimously nominated for re-election, and the contest following, was one of the most remarkable ever witnessed, as well for its fierceness as for the boldness and ability he displayed, and was, for a time doubtful. Only he, perhaps, could have achieved the result. In this year, the disintegration of one of the great parties which had so long disputed the political mastery of the government, gave rise to an organization whose leading tenet was proscriptive of the political rights of citizens of foreign birth, and members of the Church of Rome. Oaths of obligation to its purposes, and passwords of admission to its councils, were alleged of it. It absorbed the mass of that party whose distinctive form had disappeared, and very considerable numbers of those who had held opposite political affiliations. It was formidable alike in its construction, its specious principles, and in the support it received from men of high intelligence and unimpeachable character. It opposed the fundamental articles of Mr. JOHNSON's political creed—his belief in the rights of man irrespective of nativity,

and in the largest liberty of thought and conscience—as well as his theory of free institutions and aroused the utmost energy of his nature. In political warfare, he never favored defensive tactics, but this he assailed like the Mameluke cavalry on a charge. The intensity of his feeling quickened his powers, and his argument blazed with denunciations as he attacked it in every form. With ridicule, he drove it from the intrenchment of secrecy, and with unsparing language he combatted its doctrines and designs. The opposing candidate was Meredith P. Gentry, a gentleman of experience and tried capacity, and gifted with copious and sonorous eloquence, and the unusual encounter brought other able speakers to the field. Mr. JOHNSON'S forensic efforts were the highest he had ever exhibited, and his triumph won a national renown. His second term of service as Governor of the State passed without a notable incident, and at its conclusion, being now the unquestionable leader of his party, he was, by its unanimous choice, elected to the vacant seat in the United States Senate in 1857.

Nearly twenty years of continuous official life, with the untiring application with which he cultivated his talent for public business, eminently fitted him for that great arena. In his development, he had acquired a degree of accomplishment, as well as increased strength, and from the first he was a stalwart figure in the Chamber where the giants of debate—dead and living—were wont to wrestle. Over the political heavens portentous clouds were forming, and the public mind was fevered with anxiety and alarm, at the period of his entrance. On the western border were already heard the mutterings of the terrific storm which, in a few years, was to burst with devastating fury upon the nation. No one descried more clearly the ominous aspect, or desired more earnestly to avert the catastrophe, or understood more thoroughly the necessity for a statesmanship at once bold and cautious. He knew the designs of infatuated and reckless leaders—whether they marshalled the sentiment of a vast section of the country under the banner of irrepressible conflict, or inculcated another section with the doctrine of national disruption as a means of avoidance, and desirable consummation. He held sympathy with neither, but the chief themes of Senatorial discussions were big with the problem. Notwithstanding these, however, there were other matters of great importance which received his attention. He opposed the Pacific Railroad measure on the ancient principles of the democratic faith, which denied the power of the Government to construct directly, or otherwise, works of internal improvement, or by aid or subsidies of monies or lands, to ally itself with companies for that object. Not doubting the utility of such a work for purposes of military transporta-

tion, on which it was defended, he yet saw vast areas of the public lands about to pass into the grasp of soulless corporations, and engendering of corrupt combinations as a consequence. He was instinctively jealous of these powerful organizations. The infamous history of the Credit Mobilier, fresh in memory, and the conscienceless lobby which hovers now at Washington as another branch of Congress, attests his foresight; and all the accruing advantages of the work are questionable compensation for such a train of evils.

The dissensions in the democratic party regarding the status of slavery in the territories, which caused the adjournment of the Charleston Convention without a nominee, was deeply deplored by Mr. JOHNSON. In the light of the history of the times, perhaps the result to which it contributed—the election of a sectional President—could not have been averted; though, with a united front of the party, North and South, a contrary result was possible. During the session of that convention, he had been honored with the unanimous vote of his State on repeated ballotings, as its Presidential choice, and had there prevailed greater unanimity as to the question at issue, it is not improbable that the conservatism of his locality, and the inherent constituents of his popularity, would have made him the candidate of the convention. The division occurred, and he espoused the cause of that one of the democratic candidates having the greater following in the Southern States. Over this step he hesitated, and numbers of his friends watched his course with anxiety. In the crisis then imminent, his antecedent views warranted the opinion that he would not follow into extreme measures, and to your speaker he firmly said, that in the last event he should be for the Government, the Union and the Constitution. His motive at this time may be assumed to have been the hope that in an alliance with that section of his party from which he apprehended extreme action, he could exert a more potent influence to restrain it. The event came, and Congress assembled amid unparalleled excitement. Already the Federal Union was dissolving. Within a fortnight he delivered in the Senate a speech directed against the doctrines and policy of secession, and in behalf of the integrity of the Federal Government. It was the ablest effort of his life. Other great speeches, ancient and modern, have displayed more amplitude of learning and rhetorical excellence, but for incisive power and electric boldness—the scene and the theme conspiring for effect—this is unsurpassed. Benton spoke satire of Webster's reply to Hayne thirty years before, when the Union was intact and the danger imaginary, but the most violent antagonist was awed into respect by the thunder of this eloquence when the storm actually burst. All through those three

eventful months preceding Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, he labored by private appeal and effort to retain a full Southern representation in the Senate, arguing that its majority could withstand whatever aggressions the Executive might make, and yet save the Republic from detriment; and, on the sixth of February, 1861, when curses from those whom he had long served were hurtling about his head, he made another speech of great force, in which he proclaimed his unalterable determination to cling to the Union, let who would desert. Upon the adjournment of Congress, Mr. JOHNSON returned to Tennessee, which yet formally adhered to the Federal Government, but under the fall of Sumter, the land heaved as with an earthquake. After a futile effort to stay her act of separation, he was compelled to leave the State, not to return until he came as Military Governor in March 1862. At the extra session of Congress called for July 4, 1861, he advocated the war measures, but, concurrently with the venerable Crittenden in the House of Representatives, he presented resolutions declaring that the war was not waged for conquest and subjugation, nor to destroy existing institutions, but to restore the authority of the Government. The position of Military Governor was as anomalous and distasteful to him as it was irritating and vexatious to the people, and was assumed at the sacrifice of the better feelings of his nature, and with the hope that its functions might abbreviate and ameliorate the condition of the State to which he owed so much. The prolongation of the struggle dispelled this hope, and much of the exasperation that occurred should be mainly ascribed to the excitement and mutual passion that prevailed. The firmness and vigor of his administration, however, was a powerful adjunct to military operations.

In 1864, at the second candidacy of Mr. Lincoln, Mr. JOHNSON was named for Vice-President, was elected in connection to that office. The proclamation emancipating the slaves had been issued as a war measure, and the continuance of the contest, then at its fiercest, had virtually effectuated it. For the success of the Federal arms this was the gloomiest period of the struggle, and in the North, a large and growing party were clamorous for peace. The Administration feared the political result to be doubtful, and to secure the warm support of the portion of the democratic party supporting the Government, abandoned the distinctive name of *Republican*, and nominated Messrs. Lincoln and Johnson as the *Union National* candidates. As such, and such only, the latter accepted, as the language of his letter to the committee accepting the nomination clearly sets forth. The fact that he was a democrat, lending his great influence to the Government in its dire strait, was the motive for his selection; and never did he, in faith

or in form, detach himself from the democratic standard. This is an historical fact, elucidating subsequent history, and vindicating him from the charge that he deserted the party which elevated him to the Presidency. Within a few weeks after his accession to the second office in the Government, the armed resistance to its authority surrendered, and almost simultaneously came the tragic death of Mr. Lincoln, and he ascended to the Chief Magistracy. As he took the oath prescribed, the nation already quivering with excitement at the march of events, was dumb with horror at the appalling crime, and never did ruler assume the reins of power under responsibility more delicate and tremendous. This era, and the conduct of Mr. JOHNSON as President, will engage the profound attention of him who shall write its truthful history, as philosophy teaching by example. The throes of a four years' civil war, waged with gigantic numbers and fury, had disjoined the Constitutional fabric of authority, and demoralized alike the victors and the vanquished. Sobriety and reason had deserted, and, as if to crown the catastrophe, an act fitter for the age of the Borgias than the century which saw it, had come to horrify and madden. Here was all of opportunity for guilty ambition, invested with power, to engulf the remnant of liberty in the vortex of anarchy, and to emerge itself a despot. In the escape from this danger two causes of rescue may be considered. One will be found in the character of the American people impressed by their institutions. Though liable, as others, to become the temporary sport of passion, the individual sense of responsibility, acquired from habitual participation in the affairs of Government, tends to restore them to soberness and the recovery of their equilibrium. This was then exhibited. The other, and not the least, was in the personality of the President. In that dread time no Cromwellian dreams disturbed his sedate and majestic patriotism. No thought of self-aggrandizement to the injury of his country warped his judgment or betrayed his integrity. To calm the tumult, to reassure confidence, to re-establish, in form and in spirit, the free institutions he so much admired, this was his ideal of duty and vision of glory; and and to these tasks he addressed himself with wisdom and courage, possessed by few in circumstances so perplexing. He invited a continuance in service of the cabinet of his predecessor, and as the sequel proved, judiciously decided not to convene Congress in extraordinary session. In vindication of justice, he promptly brought to trial and execution the conspirators in Mr. Lincoln's murder, for one feature of which he has received much sentimental reproach; but, in this respect, the careful student of that exacting period will fully exonerate him. In a brief time the mass of the Federal army was disbanded, and in a

few months all military trade restrictions with the region lately at strife with the Government were removed, and a general amnesty, with certain reservations, was proclaimed. Simultaneously the work of establishing provisional civil governments in the lately insurgent States, with the view of restoring their autonomy and just relations to the United States Government, was commenced, and with due expedition was completed. In justification of these legitimate Executive proceedings, just prior to the assembling of Congress, he dispatched the General of the army on an official tour for the purpose of observing the temper of the people in those States, and reporting the result of this reorganization, on the condition of affairs. This report was submitted to Congress shortly after the delivery of his first message to that body, and its facts sustained the policy adopted. That paper was an elaborate review of the manifold important events of the nine preceding months, a lucid disquisition upon the theory of the Government, and an able exposition of the principles and measures he had pursued. It is replete with statesmanship, and the archives contain no document more noble and patriotic. The fears of his imperious temper, fretted by the persecution he had undergone, was not realized. Elevation had but steadied his faculties, and the leniency and magnanimity expected of the amiable Lincoln, blended with a just security for Federal interests, and restoration of the organic rights of States which had revolted, were the essential characteristics of his policy. But, with the Congress then met, and the one succeeding—which find a fit parallel in the worst features with the long Parliament of England—this wise and correct statesmanship met stern and factious resistance. The message was referred to an extraordinary committee of fifteen, whose perverse counsels dictated a vindictive and vituperative hostility to the President, arrested the peaceful work of reorganization, and under the name of reconstruction, inspired the dominant majority of Congress to a series of measures whose baneful effects have yet scarcely ceased. Mr. JOHNSON was charged with the betrayal of the Republican party, and of the Republic as well—terms synonymous in the vocabulary of this truculent majority. He had done neither. To the former he had not professed allegiance, either in act or utterance; of the latter, his faithful friendship was almost the sole buttress of protection. This led to a long and acrimonious contest between the President and Congress, to which his previous struggles were puny in comparison. He was deeply indignant, and to a large assemblage before the Executive Mansion he made a counter denunciation. Against the unconstitutional, reckless schemes of that body, the heroic element of his character was arrayed, and the rock of Gibraltar was not more sure and firm-set than

this man. The veto power he had formerly defended, claiming its derivation from a tribunal negative of the people when Rome was a republic, he now wielded in the name of the people, and in defence of their constitutional liberties. It was stricken down successively in the instances of the civil rights' bill, the freedmen's bureau bill, the bill to enforce enfranchisement of colored men by the States, the bill subordinating States to military district government, and the tenure-of-office bill. He sustained his action in a series of messages which illuminated the subjects of which they treat, at once cogent and conclusive to reason, but not to sheer force of majorities determined to defy it. Still he did not yield, and upon the basis of opinions from his Attorney General, sought to mitigate the mischiefs of the military satrapies set up in the Southern States, and to remove from the Cabinet a contumacious member. Infuriated now at his intrepid firmness, the Congressional oligarchy resolved to impeach him on charges, dignified as high crimes and misdemeanors, and the nation witnessed the spectacle of its President standing at the bar of the Senate, baited by the minions of a malignant partizanship, and defending his own integrity, and that of his great office, against the encroachments of faction. No trial in history exceeded this in interest, and had the result been different, none ever carried consequences of more pernicious import. For the illustrious accused, the ordeal was terrific, but his equanimity was unmoved. Had he been guilty, his placid courage would have redeemed his fame. But even in a prejudiced tribunal, the convicting majority could not be obtained, and he emerged triumphantly—the sober sentiment of the country condemning his accusers. The period of his Presidency was tempestuous, but it was illustrated with patriotic wisdom, with brilliant administrative vigor and with honesty. Though encountering more formidable obstacles than any predecessor, he laid down his great trust unimpaired, and his niche in the temple of fame is assured.

On the fourth of March, 1869, he departed from the Capitol for his home in Tennessee, journeying amid ovations of popular approval. At large meetings held at prominent points in the State he testified of his stewardship. He was then just turned of three-score years, but his exciting labors had not dimmed his eye nor unnerved his strength, nor was his strong nature satisfied with the score he had left with his fierce antagonists still on the scene of action. He desired to re-enter the Senate, to oppose on that field the hurtful measures he had so stoutly fought in one still higher. But other counsels prevailed, and he was not gratified. The mists of prejudice yet lingered in the atmosphere. A few years later he sought entrance to the popular branch of

Congress as Representative from the State at large, but under circumstances which again defeated him. His unyielding spirit never flagged, however, and he finally won the most sincere gratification that his ambition could enjoy. He felt his election to the Senate to be a reversal of any sentence that his loved State had ever passed against him, and it was a proud day, when, amid the acclamations of the thronged galleries, he stepped on that floor with her seal in his hand. Nor did the memories of that Chamber—once his court of judgment—render less sweet the sense of his just triumph. The Senate was convened for the special consideration of the vexed question of Louisiana affairs—a condition induced by the legislation he had so sternly combatted. It had then its worst phase—anarchy produced by the lawless domination of its Legislature by the Federal military. Against this he spoke with his characteristic power. It was his only and last effort, for, though no sign was given, his fate was impending. In the summer of 1875 he was engaged at his home in the arrangement of his voluminous papers, and there received an earnest invitation to enter the pending political campaign in Ohio, which was of national importance. This was accepted, but during the work of preparation the last messenger came, Death found him preparing for another battle. It was not to be, and after an illness of a few hours he expired in the presence of his family in the sixty-seventh year of his age. As the announcement flashed over the land, carrying regret to minds considerate of the unsettled political condition, it carried also the thought—he “should have died hereafter.”

Mr. JOHNSON was not the creature of circumstances, otherwise this scene to-day had not been. He carved his own career, mainly without adventitious favor. Perhaps some elements in his own character caused the struggle of his life to be the more severe. A degree of reserve, tinged with distrust, made him less the object of warm esteem and attachment than that of confidence and admiration inspired by the intrinsic elevation of his nature. He was endowed with capacious and resolute faculties which brooked no obstacle, and made him **superior** to cliques and conventions. His only external aid was the liberal institutions of government under which he lived, and of these he felt himself to be a foster son, and for them he cherished an affection which would have made his life, if needed, a sacrifice. A representative democracy offered a theatre, and by his own exertions he reared the intellectual and moral structure which his countrymen are proud to honor. There is no frivolous or fictitious component in the character he has left; it is the product of earnest, faithful work, due to laudable aspiration, and devoted to the service of his country and his fellow-men.

His personal appearance was familiar here. Of medium height, his figure was compactly shaped, indicating sinewy strength and power of endurance. His step was elastic, and his carriage erect. In complexion, he was slightly swarthy; his hair, in early manhood, was quite dark and luxuriant, becoming thinned and silvered in his latter years. His chest was broad and deep, his neck stout but shapely, surmounted by a large and well-formed head. His countenance, with its deep-set, piercing eyes, was one to arrest attention. "On his front, deliberation sat, and public care," with an expression habitually anxious, shaded with sadness. Smiles were not frequent with him, but when so moved, they were sincere and hearty. His general manner was grave, rather than austere, but quickly showed his feelings—the sterner as well as the gentler. Trained in no school of deportment, he had yet an innate dignity, and while in the Presidential chair, the sceptre of authority seemed native to his hand. His mind was analytical and logical in cast—the reasoning faculties being predominant. He sought for facts and first principles, and applied them acutely and profoundly. His imagination did not furnish him with figures of fancy, but his fervid nature furnished him with apt resources of illustration and well-chosen language. His power was in clearness of statement and simplicity of argument, that the people could follow, and a vehement earnestness which convinced them of his sincerity. In his conflict in debate, a personal tone was often observed which was not intended—the result rather of his intense feeling upon the principle or doctrine at issue. Though often in collision, bitterness did not abide with him, except to those who had been treacherous or vindictive. Most severely tested from the lowest to the highest point of his fortunes, his decision and force of will was simply grand. Though open to counsel, he formed his own judgment, and his conclusion was immovable. Opposition but fixed it the more firmly, and men called him obstinate, but he stood upon his rendered reasons. He was thoroughly honest in his convictions, and in their defence no danger appalled him. He would have adhered to them at the martyr's stake. His honesty, in the broad sense, was an emphatic trait. That which he believed became a part of him, and he was incorruptible by bribe, either to his purse or his ambition. His official standard of uprightness was lofty, and in an era of corruption he was without blemish. His moral courage, in the performance of public duty, towered to the sublime, and in this respect their characters are as little different as are the spelling of their names—Andrew Johnson and Andrew Jackson. His tastes were simple and frugal, and the blandishments of station did not debauch them; A modest home in this unpretending town, and the company of his neighbors, sufficed for him who had moved among the more than equal

of the great and titled. He did not affect piety, and was not communicative of whatever religious views he entertained. So thoughtful as he was, it is probable that he held some, but he kept that account with his Maker alone. He was not without faults, but they were such as are common to the best of men; and not without errors, but the balance of his qualities, great and small, and of his acts, public and private, is more largely in his favor than that of most men. His political principles were pronounced and steadfast. He was a Jeffersonian Democrat of the intenser type, and believed firmly in the capacity of the people, in their honesty of purpose, and in their fidelity to good government and social order. Though to no man has the term been more offensively applied, he was not a demagogue, and no taint of agrarianism defiled his thoughts. He opposed universal suffrage as alike inexpedient, and unconstitutional in the manner it was proposed. He did not mislead the people. He communed with them frankly, for he did not forget that he was one of them, and had been of the humblest. Occasion came when he differed with the people, and he maintained his opinions with fearless candor. He was devoted to the Constitution of the United States as the chart of the wisest and the freest government ever devised by man. He interpreted it by the letter, and insisted that its powers should not be enlarged by too liberal construction. He regarded it as the palladium of popular government and regulated liberty. He jealously guarded the reserved rights of the States, but held that the union of these States, formed under the Constitution, was essential to their preservation. When it was imperilled, he stood forth its mighty champion. Of that struggle others may wear the military laurels, but to him belongs the civic wreath; and in the catalogue of its history, the impartial verdict of aftertimes will award him the first place for unselfish patriotism and unequalled powers.

The designs and inscriptions on that chaste marble—the eagle, the flag, the scroll, and the simple line, “His faith in the people never wavered”—typify the character it commemorates. Here on this romantic spot, chosen by himself, that shaft will stand, attracting the gaze of those who pass on that great highway yonder leading to the North and to the South, and to the East and to the West. It will become a pilgrim shrine to which generations yet unborn shall journey to pay homage to the memory of one whose name will grow more lustrous as time shall lapse. And these majestic mountains, which will not survive his fame, looking down, shall sentinel the sepulchre of this Statesman, Patriot and Friend of the people—the Defender of the Constitution and the Union.

LETTERS FROM DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC MEN.

Among the letters received by the family from distinguished public men in other States were the following:

FROM GOV. ROBINSON, OF NEW YORK.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, ALBANY, May 31, 1878.—Mrs. Patterson—Madam: I have received your kind invitation to be present at the unveiling of the monument erected to the memory of our late President, Andrew Johnson, on June 5. Remembering the ability, integrity and patriotism of the distinguished statesman in whose honor this ceremony will be held, it is with deep regret that I find myself unable to participate in it. Public engagements of the highest importance will detain me at Albany constantly for many days to come, and I am therefore forbidden from assisting to pay a deserved tribute to the memory of one who has done so much for and deserves so much of his State and nation.

I am, madam, with great respect,

L. ROBINSON.

FROM GOV. S. J. TILDEN, OF NEW YORK.

15 GRAMERCY PARK, NEW YORK, June 1, 1878.—Gentlemen: I have received your invitation to be present at the unveiling of the monument to ex-President Andrew Johnson at Greeneville, Tennessee, on the 5th inst.

It would give me great pleasure to be present on that occasion if it were practicable. But engagements here preclude the possibility.

I appreciate highly the character of Andrew Johnson; his devotion to constitutional principles as they were practiced by Jefferson and by Jackson, and I sympathize with the homage which his fellow-citizens propose to pay to his memory.

Very truly yours,

SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

To the committee at the unveiling of the Johnson monument.

FROM EX-SENATOR VICKERS, OF MARYLAND.

CHESTER TOWN, MD., May 29, 1878.—An invitation was received to-day to attend the appropriate services accompanying the unveiling of the monument erected to the memory of a great man and a true patriot. He was faithful to all his trusts, honest and fearless.

The votes I gave to sustain him as Chief Magistrate, I recur to with much satisfaction—they were conscientiously given and I rejoiced in his triumph. I hope the Union he served to sustain will continue to exist as long as the beautiful monument erected to Andrew Johnson, ex-President of the United States, shall resist the encroachments of Time.

My best wishes are extended to his family, and I regret that circumstances will debar me the pleasure of witnessing and participating in the interesting and beautiful services of the occasion.

With great respect, I am sincerely yours,

GEORGE VICKERS,

To the family of the late President, Andrew Johnson.

FROM HON. D. S. GOODING, OF INDIANA.

GREENFIELD, IND., June 1, 1878.—Mrs. Patterson: Sometime since I saw in a newspaper a statement that a monument will be erected to your father, ex-President Andrew Johnson, on the 5th of June. I had hoped that my business affairs would be in condition to permit my presence on that occasion, but I now find that it will be out of my power to be there. I very much desired to contribute, at least my presence, expressive of the high esteem in which I hold the memory of ex-President Andrew Johnson, as an honest and patriotic man of great ability, and a true friend. Not knowing the post-office address at this time of any of your father's family, I shall address this letter to you at Greeneville, Tenn., and, assuring you and all the family of my deceased friend, including your husband, of my highest regard and pleasant remembrance of former kindness, I shall always take great pleasure in testifying to my knowledge of the many good qualities of your great father, now deceased, whose name will be more and more honored as time passes and history is just. Please say as much to all the family now surviving. I am yours, etc. DAVID S. GOODING.

FROM EX-SENATOR JOSEPH S. FOWLER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 3, 1878.—Hon. D. T. Patterson—DEAR SIR: I desire through you to thank all those who did me the honor to send me an invitation to attend the ceremonies of unveiling the monument erected to the memory of Andrew Johnson. It is a source of unfeigned regret that I am unable to attend. I sincerely hope that the occasion will call forth a pronounced expression in approbation of the services of one of the most illustrious citizens of the Republic.

The State of Tennessee is rich in distinguished service and illustrious memories which must never be neglected or forgotten. Every ceremony which repeats their virtues and devotion will recall the present generation to the contemplation of heroic patriotism and incorruptible integrity.

Before the brave and adventurous pioneers had expelled from her borders the stealthy and deadly tread of the savage, they were recalled to participate in the struggles of the revolution. From that period to this her sons have freely poured out their blood in the defence of the Republic. Her wisdom, foresight and patriotic devotion have been called into the councils of the nation and have taken the front rank. In every contest but one they have stood by the Republic. On this occasion she reluctantly threw her power against the nation. Under the guidance of Andrew Johnson she was the first to resume her place in the home of her fathers. It was from the inception to the close of this fearful struggle that this eminent citizen played the most conspicuous part and had the most marked influence upon the cause of national restoration and regeneration.

It will not be out of place to recall some of his cardinal principles in this period of national decadence. Among the most cherished were the inviolability of the popular will as expressed by the ballot; the prosperity of the people is the measure of national wealth, and not the treasury swelled by taxation; never distrust the good faith of the people; nothing is settled that is wrong; the people are capable of self-government, and will at last correct every political error; the sanctity and dignity of labor is above all other social and political interests.

Though this man's life was one continued storm and struggle against opposition, calumny and envy, he lived to see the angry waves subside and the tempestuous ocean calm as the slumbering infant. He had witnessed the achievement of his cherished wishes. He had first spoken for the nation and opposed war. His counsels were unheard, and after an ocean of blood had been shed, he conducted the revolted States back to their places in the Republic. He had returned to Tennessee, and by his generous magnanimity, conquered his place in the affections of his fellow-citizens. He had been welcomed back to the Senate by the American people—to the spot of his proudest triumphs and bitterest agonies. He returned to his mountain home and died in the midst of the fortunate consummation of his long anxious struggles. Happily he did not live to see the will of the people defeated by fraud and the National Executive chosen by an unauthorized commission against the solemn expression of the people at the ballot.

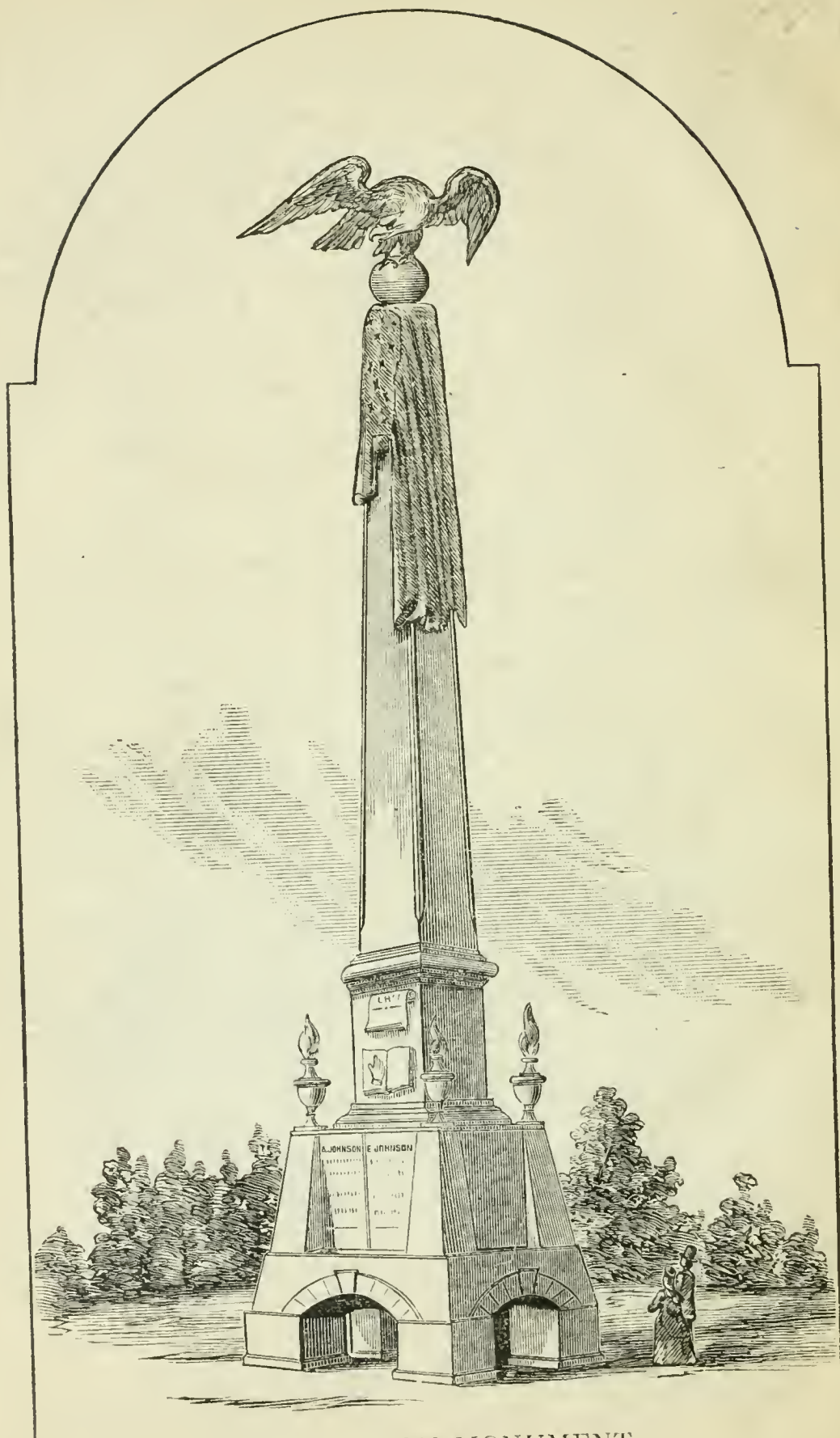
He entered public life when political antagonisms had centered in political chiefs. The contest was fierce and personal, though involving

only questions of a transient character. Gradually the conflict widened and deepened into one of civilizations emanating from sections formed on geographical lines. In his course he had been a diligent student of the Constitution, and his intense admiration of that expression of civil government grew into an enthusiastic reverence. To this chart he turned with pious veneration through all the angry and exasperating contests that were rapidly generating the fearful conflict of arms. Amidst all the long and dreary agony that followed, he turned devoutly to the fountain of his faith and hope for guidance. When the hour of reconciliation had arrived, when the cry of an exhausted people for peace was uttered to the heavens, he again turned to the ever-living fountain of light for the principles which should direct his steps in restoring the shattered and disordered Republic. The events that have followed reconstruction have attested his wisdom and foresight, and have claimed for him new titles to the reverence of the American people. I shall not now, over his ashes, enter into any comparisons. They force themselves unwillingly upon the public mind, and have silenced every murmur against his patriotic and upright administration of the government. It has been a source of wonder to see how rapidly the waves of partisan resentment have subsided into tranquil approval. Every year attests the value of his jealous regard for the provisions of the Federal Constitution and his disposition to win the confidence of the prostrate section of his country.

Throughout his political life he was no friend of the sword. He used it only in extreme emergencies and renounced it upon the first gleam of peace. He relied upon generous and impartial justice, upon the influence of an exalted charity and the magnetic power of a noble and patriotic love to cement again the bonds of union and give assurance that the Republic was again the home of all her children.

I will not longer detain you on his merits. They will, from that beautiful mount in which his ashes repose, be portrayed by a life-long friend and companion who was endeared to him by all the ties of a common faith, personal friendship, disinterested and patriotic services and common struggles for what they righteously believed vital to the interests of the nation and her people. I am happy to know that one who will do justice to his motives and his actions has been chosen for the service. I feel profoundly grateful that "heaven has bountifully lengthened his days," for this pious service. Again, by a faithful and sincere heart, will the blessings and dangers of free institutions be pressed home upon the public conscience. With the warmest assurance of regard and esteem, I am, as ever, your friend,

JOS. S. FOWLER.



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“His faith in the people never wavered.”



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